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AUTHOR Barber, John T.
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ABSTRACT

Content analysis was employed in an examination of nine major metropolitan daily newspapers to determine how they portrayed both black and white members of the United States House of Representatives from 1979 to 1983. Specifically, the study examined the amount of coverage given to a sample of 16 black and 16 white representatives, the way articles about these members were displayed in the papers, how the personal and political attributes of each were reported, and how often they were quoted on a broad range of topics. Relationships were then determined between the portrayal variables and race and which race received favorable or unfavorable treatment. Overall, the analysis revealed that the newspapers studied reported on black and white representatives in a nondiscriminatory fashion in the majority of portrayal dimensions measured. Significant variance associated with race was found, however, in press portrayal of black and white representatives in the areas of amount of coverage, placement of names, several areas of political leadership qualities, and frequency of quotation. (Author/FL)

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A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF PRESS PORTRAYAL OF BLACK AND WHITE U.S. REPRESENTATIVES FROM 1979 TO 1983

By

John T. Barber

Graduate School of Arts and Sciences
Howard University
Department of Communications Arts and Sciences

Winner of Student Research Competition, Minorities and Communications Division, Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communications, August, 1986.

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Abstract

Through employment of content analysis, this thesis examined nine major metropolitan daily newspapers to determine how they portrayed black and white members of the U.S. House of Representatives from 1979 to 1983. This study investigated the amount of coverage given to a sample of black and white representatives, how articles about these legislators were displayed in the newspapers analyzed, how these political leaders' personal and professional attributes were reported, and how frequently they were quoted on a broad range of topics about congressional affairs and other subjects. Correlation and chi - square analysis were used to determine relationships between the portrayal variables and race and which race received favorable or unfavorable treatment on those variables in the newspapers examined. Overall, the analysis revealed that the newspapers studied reported on black and white representatives in a non-discriminatory fashion in the majority of portrayal dimensions measured. Significant variance associated with race was found, however, in press portrayal of black and white representatives in the areas of amount of coverage, placement of names, several areas of political leadership qualities, and frequency of quotation.

Statement of the Problem

Political news is a product resulting from decisions made by gatekeepers in choosing and displaying news items (McCombs and Shaw, 1972). Newspaper audiences learn about issues and how much importance to attach to them from the volume of news about the issues and the placement of the articles that carry the information about the issues. Much attention has been given to how readers incorporate the importance of these issues into their decision making processes and voting behavior. This agenda-setting function of the press, however, is not limited to the correspondence between salience of issues for the media and the audience. Agenda-setting also encompasses the salience of various attributes of political actors reported on in the press. Readers view the attributes of politicians in correlation to the amount of salience placed on their portrayals through gatekeeping techniques of the press. Portraying a political image in a newspaper includes the manipulation of the salience of both issues and attributes (McCombs and Shaw, 1972).

In the American institution of journalism the political images of black and white political candidates are portrayed differently and the differences are attributable to race (Chaudhary, 1980). This problem raised the following questions for investigation within this research effort:

1. To what extent does amount of coverage of black and white representatives vary in American newspapers?

2. To what extent does display of articles about black and white representatives vary in American newspapers?

3. To what extent does the quality of description of black and white representatives vary in American newspapers.

4. To what extent does the frequency of quotations attributed to black and white representatives about different issues vary in American newspapers.

Related Studies and Hypotheses

There are currently more black representatives in the U.S. Congress than at anytime since the days of Reconstruction in America (Conyers and Wallace, 1976). Although there has been steady increase in the number of blacks in the House of Representatives there are currently no blacks in the Senate. Despite the upsurge in black representation in the nation's legislature, very little is reported in systematic studies about how these individuals are presented in the national press.

The literature that is written on this subject emphasizes that newspapers in America present a somewhat negative picture of black congressmen and these organs are often used to harass black legislators and black elected officials in general (Rowan, 1976). Investigation of reports of portrayal of black

Americans in the print media reveals that blacks have historically been portrayed in a negative vein in the press. Several studies have shown that blacks are typically portrayed as inferior and secondary to whites in the press (Kassarjean, 1973).

There is evidence that points to the tendency of the press to portray black congressmen in a negative fashion utilizing negative adjectives and terms to describe their activities, personality and behaviors. Journalist, Carl Rowan (1976) reports that several black representatives have unfounded accusations by the press. Adam Clayton Powell, Shirley Chisholm, William Clay, Mervyn Dymally, and Ralph Metcalfe are several black representatives who have come under press stories charging them with taking bribes, drug charges, misappropriation of funds, and conspiracies to defraud the government. Newspapers involved in such reporting have included The New York Times, The Los Angeles Times, The Saint Louis Post Dispatch, and other organs that will be analyzed in this study.

The major metropolitan newspapers examined in the studies of Bell (1973) and Chaudhary (1980) showed a tendency to provide more coverage of black candidates than white candidates in election campaigns for congressional seats and other public offices. There was no reason to expect that the newspapers selected for this study would deviate form that pattern in

providing coverage of black and white members of the Congress. Furthermore, Bell's study suggested that as blacks became more active in the political arena press coverage increased in congruence with that activity. Since more blacks were in the Congress than ever before during the time period covered in this study, it was expected that black representatives would receive a greater amount of coverage than their white equals in Congress. Therefore, the first hypothesis was: Black representatives will receive significantly more press coverage than white representatives in the newspapers analyzed.

Newspaper owners, executives, and gatekeepers formulate and decide how news material will be displayed in the pages of news journals (Epstein, 1981; Gieber, 1964; Schiller, 1973; White, 1950). These periodicals relate to readers the salience of news items through headline size and placement within the newspapers (McCombs and Shaw, 1977). Favorable positions in newspapers are toward the front of the paper and at the top of the pages. These positions have been established by journalistic practice and tradition and audiences are aware of these fundamentals and use similar measures to determine importance of news material. The second dimension of press portrayal investigated in this study was the journalistic display of news articles about black and white representatives. Because of the tendency of the press to portray blacks in a negative vein it was reasonable to expect that articles

about black representatives would be displayed less favorably than those about white representatives. Therefore, hypothesis two was: Articles about white representatives will be displayed more favorably than those about black representatives in the newspapers analyzed.

The third dimension of press portrayal investigated in this study was the description of political leadership qualities by newspapers. Description here means the adjectives used by the press in relating information about the personal and professional characteristics of the politicians who were the subject of the articles. No studies were discovered which reported differences in descriptions of incumbent black and white representatives in daily newspapers.

The print media in general, however, have negatively stereotyped black Americans throughout history. Many studies have indicated differences in treatment of blacks and whites in the print media. Several studies have shown that blacks are typically portrayed as inferior and secondary to whites in the press (Kassarjean, 1973). In fiction, blacks are typically presented in minor roles while whites are pictured in major roles (Berelson and Salter, 1946). In other print media blacks are frequently portrayed as servants while whites are frequently portrayed as professionals (Shuey, et al., 1953). Blacks are also more often portrayed in secondary roles while whites are shown in primary roles (Kern, 1982). Chaudhary (1980)

discovered that in 19 major metropolitan daily newspapers, during campaigns, black elected officials received slightly more negative coverage than their white counterparts over a seven year period of time. It was expected therefore that black representatives would be described in a more negative fashion than their white counterparts in newspapers. Therefore the third research hypothesis of this study was: Political leadership qualities will be described more favorably for white representatives than for black representatives in the newspapers analyzed.

The final dimension of press portrayal investigated in this study was the frequency of quotations of black and white representatives about certain issues presented in major metropolitan newspapers. Studies on differences in the amount of quotations attributed to black and white representatives were not discovered in the literature. Quotations from members of Congress, nevertheless, are an important part of news coverage of Capitol Hill (Miller, 1977). Newspapers cover Congress to get a spokesperson on topics that are in the news or that meet press criteria for newsworthiness at the time. On certain issues, such as tax policy or Government investigation, congressional spokesmen rather than the President are routinely sought out. Major metropolitan daily newspapers, however, are white owned and operated for white advertisers and a white audience. It was reasonable to predict

that these newspapers would seek white congressional spokesmen to address the issues the papers are covering at a given time. The fourth research hypothesis for this study therefore was: White representatives will be quoted significantly more frequently than black representatives in the newspapers analyzed.

METHODOLOGY

To analyze press portrayal of these representatives, articles from nine major metropolitan daily newspapers were content analyzed. The newspapers included: The New York Times, The Chicago Tribune, The San Francisco Chronicle, The Los Angeles Times, The Detroit News, The Cleveland Plain Dealer, The Houston Post, The Saint Louis Post Dispatch, and The Washington Post. These papers were included because they are the largest metropolitan dailies in or near the districts which the black and white representatives represent and the newspapers have indexes which facilitate the content analysis carried out in this research project.

The 96th, 97th, and 98th Congresses were investigated because they were recent sessions and there were 20 black representatives in office during these sessions. These Congresses cover the time from 1979 to 1983. Sixteen black representatives of these Congresses were included in this

study. An equal number of white representatives were included who were equal to the blacks on the factors that determine press visibility. These factors include number of terms in office, size of congressional district, and types of committee assignment (Wilhoit and Sherill, 1968). All of the representatives in this study belonged to the Democratic Party.

The newspaper indexes were reviewed to find the names of each representative and the articles printed about them in the newspapers. Stories which were about elections or candidates for office were eliminated. All other articles were selected as a representative sample of all articles that were published in the selected newspapers from 1979 to 1983. From this sample, starting with the first article, every other article indicated in the indexes was selected to be content analyzed.

A sample of 522 articles was content analyzed using an instrument that contained 29 measurement variables. Variables 1 to 8 were used to measure amount of coverage and display of articles (Chaudhary, 1980) and names. Variables 9 and 10 indicated the sex and race of the representatives. Variables 11 through 22 were employed to measure press portrayals of the representatives' professional and personal leadership qualities (Batlis and Green, 1979; Brenner and Brommer, 1981; Butterfield and Powell, 1981; Constantini and Craik, 1980; Gallup, 1979; Foti, et al., 1982; Graber, 1980; Menenda,

1964; Morrow, et al., 1974). Variables 23 to 29 were used to measure the frequency of quotations by representatives on a broad range of issues (Miller, 1977).

A reliability test was conducted to determine the amount of intra-coder reliability (Krippendorf, 1980). The test was based on the same instrument, definitions, methods, and instruction used in the initial investigation. To conduct the test, ten percent (52) of the 522 articles analyzed in the first analysis were recoded. The 52 articles were selected randomly by choosing the first article coded 001 and selecting every tenth article thereafter. The average percent of agreement between the larger sample and the smaller sample was calculated by using the following formula:

$$R = \frac{\Sigma \text{ \% of agreement for each category}}{\text{number of categories per article}}$$

The following result was obtained from using this formula:

$$R = \frac{2696}{29} = 92.9$$

FINDINGS

Extent of Coverage

The aim of this study was to determine if there were differences in press portrayal of black and white U.S. representatives during their terms in office from 1979 to 1983. A significant difference was found in the amount of coverage given to the black and white officials by the newspapers

analyzed during that time frame (x^2=21.55, 1 d.f.,p=<.001). The Chicago Tribune, Cleveland Plain Dealer, Detroit News, Houston Post, Los Angeles Times, New York Times, St. Louis Post Dispatch, San Francisco Chronicle and Washington Post were examined and 522 articles were content analyzed rendering 336 articles about blacks and 186 about whites. The articles about blacks represented 64.3 per cent of the total while those about whites made up 35.6 per cent of the sample. The Detroit News carried 117 articles, the largest number analyzed in a single source and the Washington Post published 23 articles, the fewest analyzed in an single source. The following table shows the sources and the number of stories they carried about black and white U.S. representatives selected for this study.

TABLE-1
SOURCE OF ARTICLES

Source	Frequency By Race		Frequency	Percent
	White	Black		
Chicago Tribune	29	18	47	9.0
Cleveland Plain Dealer	6	56	62	11.9
Detroit News	60	57	117	22.4
Houston Post	11	54	65	12.59
Los Angeles Times	3	15	18	3.4
New York Times	49	38	97	18.6
St. Louis Post Dispatch	3	66	69	13.2
San Francisco Chronicle	7	17	24	4.6
Washington Post	8	15	23	4.4
Total	186	336	522	100.0

Almost all of the articles were news stories (442) and other types, such as editorials and commentaries, comprised the remaining articles. The following table illustrates the frequency of the nine types of articles analyzed and the number of each about black and white representatives.

TABLE-2

TYPES OF ARTICLES

Source	Frequency By Race		Frequency	Percent
	White	Black		
News	156	286	442	84.7
Editorials	18	15	33	6.3
Commentary	2	6	8	1.5
Feature	1	0	1	0.2
Profile	1	4	5	1.0
Letter	2	4	6	1.1
Letter by Rep.	2	3	5	1.0
Article by Rep.	2	7	9	1.7
Other	2	11	13	2.5
Total	186	336	552	100.0

Although black representatives had almost twice as many articles written about them as white representatives, the average amount of space allocated to each article about

blacks and whites was nearly identical. The average article written about black representatives occupied 20.4 square inches of space and the average article about white representatives occupied 21.4 square inches of space. A total of 6,854 square inches of space was devoted to articles about black representatives while a total of 3,980 square inches of space was apportioned to white representatives. The shortest article was one square inch in length and the longest was more than 99 square inches in length.

With 64 articles in the Saint Louis Post Dispatch, Congressman William Clay (MO) had the highest number of stories printed about an individual representative during the time period covered and Congressman John Fary (IL) had the lowest number of stories with 2 stories written about him in the Chicago Tribune. Table-3 demonstrates the number of articles written about each representative and the newspapers in which they were printed. It should be noted that three of the representatives were females and the remainder were males. Females had 41 stories written about them and males had 481 stories concerning them. Shirley Chisholm (NY) and Cardiss Collins (IL) are black females and Elizabeth Holtzman (NY) is a white female.

TABLE-3

FREQUENCY OF ARTICLES ABOUT REPRESENTATIVES BY SOURCE

Name/Race	CT	CPD	DN	HP	LAT	NYT	SLPD	SFC	WP
Black									
Chisholm (NY)						10			
Clay (MO)							64		
Collins (IL)	6								
Conyers (MI)			20						
Crockett (MI)			9						
Dellums (CA)								16	
Diggs (MI)			28						
Dixon (CA)					13				
Fauntroy (DC)									11
Hawkins (CA)					3				
Leland (TX)				54					
Mitchell (MD)									4
Rangel (NY)						21			
Savage (IL)	8								
Stokes (OH)		56							
Washington (IL)	4								
White									
Atkinson (PA)									3
Burlison (MO)							3		
Dingell (MI)			48						
Fary (IL)	2								
Ford (MI)			5						
Hance (TX)				13					
Holtzman (NY)						23			
Kildee (MI)			7						
Lantos (CA)					2				
Long (MD)									5
Peyser (NY)						18			
Russo (IL)	10								
Seiberling (OH)		6							
Shuer (NY)						18			
Simon (IL)	18								
Stark (CA)								7	

CT - Chicago Tribune
CPD - Cleveland Plain Dealer
DN - Detroit News
HP - Houston Post
LAT - Los Angeles Times
NYT - New York Times
SLPD - St. Louis Post Dispatch
SFC - San Francisco Chronicle
WP - Washington Post

Placement of Articles and Names

The majority of articles (80%) about black and white representatives were placed on the inside page. Blacks had 273 articles on the inside page and whites had 146 articles in that position. On the front page, blacks had 48 articles and whites had 30 articles. Blacks had nine articles in the special section and whites had 10 there. In the supplemental section, blacks had three articles and whites had none. There was no significant difference in the placement of articles about black and white representatives in the newspapers analyzed in this study.

There was a significant difference in the placement of the names of the black and white representatives (Tau C=-.336, p=<.001; see Table 5). Blacks' names were placed in the headlines 177 times in 336 articles and white names were placed there 37 times in 186 articles. The names of blacks first appeared in the lead sentence of 43 articles and the names of whites appeared in the lead sentence in 25 articles. In 116 articles the names of blacks first appeared in the body of the article while in 124 articles whites' names first appeared in the body of the article. The following Table illustrates the placement of names by race within the newspapers studied.

TABLE-4

PLACEMENT OF NAMES

Placement	Frequency by Race		Frequency	Percent
	White	Black		
1. Headlines	37	177	214	41.0
2. Lead Sentence	25	43	68	13.0
3. Body of Article	124	116	240	46.0
Total	186	336	522	100.0

Political Portrayals

The study examined 12 characteristics of political actors to determine if they could be correlated with race and which race recieved the most favorable portrayals according to these characteristics in the articles printed in the newspapers. Forthrightness, leadership, decisiveness, open-mindedness, compassion, poise, intelligence, morality, courage, independence, competence, and imagination were measured using a five point scale ranging from (1) very negative to (5) very positive. Kendall's Tau - C correlation coefficient was employed to determine relationship of these portrayal dimensions with the race of the representatives. Three characteristics, leadership, compassion and morality were significantly related to race of the representatives and no significant relationship was revealed between race and the remaining nine characteristics (see Table-5). White represen-

tatives were portrayed more favorably than black representatives in 354 discussions of leadership (Tau C=-.131, p=<.05). Blacks, however, were portrayed more favorably than whites in 125 discussions of compassion (Tau C=.072, p=<.05). In 68 discussions of morality, whites were portrayed more favorably than blacks (Tau C=-.113, p.=<.05).

Although there were no significant relationships between race and the remaining traits of political actors, the greatest amount of attention (discussed more than 50 times) was given to forthrightness, courage, and imagination in the newspapers analyzed. Forthrightness was mentioned in 354 instances (Tau C=-.052, n.s.); courage was reported 83 times (Tau C=-.113, n.s.); and imagination was covered 87 times (Tau C=-.095, n.s.). Considerably less verbiage (discussed less than 50 times) was afforded to decisiveness, open-mindedness, poise, intelligence, independence, and competence. Decisiveness was mentioned in 31 instances (Tau C=-.041, n.s.); open-mindedness was discussed 22 times (Tau C=-.099, n.s.); poise received 37 mentions (Tau C=-.210, N.S.); intelligence was reported 22 times (Tau C-.247, n.s.); independence was dealt with 42 times (Tau C=-.052, n.s.); and competence was covered 36 times (Tau C=-.175, n.s.).

TABLE-5

Correlation of Placement and Characteristics by Race

Variables	TAU C (N)	P
Placement of Articles	-006 (552)	NS
Placement of Names	-.336 (552)	.001
Portrayal of Forthrightness	-.052 (354)	NS
Portrayal of Leadership	-.131 (218)	.05
Portrayal of Decisiveness	-.041 (31)	NS
Portrayal of Open-Mindedness	-.099 (22)	NS
Portrayal of Compassion	.072 (125)	.05
Portrayal of Poise	-.210 (37)	NS
Portrayal of Intelligence	-.247 (22)	NS
Portrayal of Morality	-.113 (68)	.05
Portrayal of Courage	-.113 (83)	NS
Portrayal of Independence	-.052 (42)	NS
Portrayal of Competence	-.175 (36)	NS
Portrayal of Imagination	-.095 (87)	NS

Quotations by Representatives

The news about representatives often contains statements that they have made concerning newsworthy issues and events. In this study each article was reviewed to find out how many times representatives were quoted and the content of those quotations. Congressional affairs, international affairs, national affairs, state affairs, county affairs, local affairs, and racial affairs were the content categories into

which each quotation was placed when appropriate. Of a total of 1006 quotes about the subjects listed above, blacks were quoted 693 times (68%) and whites were quoted 313 times (32%).

A chi square analysis revealed that there were significant differences in the frequency of quotations by black and white representatives in the areas of congressional affairs, local affairs, and racial affairs. Blacks were quoted more frequently in all three categories including 224 instances of congressional affairs (x^2=4.56, 1d.f., p.=<.05); 98 quotations on local affairs (x^2=62.00, 1d.f., p.=<.001); and 154 examples of racial affairs (x^2=134.64, 1df., p.=<.001). No significant differences were revealed in the frequency of quotations by blacks and whites in the remaining areas of quotations including 104 casess of international affairs (x^2=.34, 1d.f., n.s.); 274 examples of national affairs (x^2=2.85, 1d.f., n.s.); 43 reports of state affairs (x^2=2.32, 1d.f., n.s.); and 18 mentions of county affairs (x^2-.22, 1d.f., n.s.). Table-6 illustrates the frequency of quotations by race published in the nine newspapers analyzed in this study.

TABLE-6

Frequency of Quotations by Race

Quotations	Black	White	X^2	d.f.	P
Congressional Affairs	128	96	4.56	1	<.05
International Affairs	55	49	.34	1	NS
National Affairs	151	123	2.86	1	NS
State Affairs	21	22	2.32	1	NS
County Affairs	10	8	.22	1	NS
Local Affairs	88	10	62.00	1	<.001
Racial Affairs	149	5	134.64	1	<.001

Acceptance of Hypotheses

The data obtained in this study fully support the acceptance of H1, but do not support the acceptance of the remaining hypotheses. The hypotheses for this study were as follows:

H1. There will be more coverage given to black representatives than white representatives in the newspapers analyzed.

H2. Articles about white representatives will be displayed more favorably than articles about black representatives in the newspapers analyzed. Only one of the five variables on journalistic display revealed a relation-

ship between race and display, therefore this hypothesis was rejected.

H3. Political leadership qualities will be portrayed more favorably for white representatives than for black representatives in the newspapers analyzed. Only two of the twelve variables on political leadership qualities showed relationships in which whites were portrayed more favorably, therefore, this hypothesis was rejected.

H4. White representatives will be quoted more frequently than black representatives in the newspapers analyzed. Whites were not quoted significantly more frequently than blacks on any of the seven quotations variables, therefore this hypothesis was also rejected.

Conclusions

Overall, the material obtained in this study denotes that in most dimensions of press portrayal the press maintains a neutral posture and reports on black and white Congress persons in a non-discriminatory fashion. News stories were used most frequently to report on legislators from both groups, these stories occupied the same amount of space in the newspapers and members of both groups were quoted frequently on a wide range of topics in these stories. The newspapers in this study were also "objective" in most of their portrayals of personal and

professional characteristics of the black and white representatives. Portrayals of such characteristics as courage, intelligence, competence and decisiveness, for example, were not associated with race in the articles examined in this research effort.

On the other hand, this study reveals that black representatives are portrayed more negatively than white representatives in several areas of press portrayal of political leadership. Essentially blacks are portrayed as being less effective leaders than their white equals in the Congress. Blacks are also represented as being more involved in illegal and immoral activities than the white legislators. Black representatives, however, were more compassionate than white representatives in the pages of the American newspapers reviewed in this project.

The presence of black politicians is firm in the U.S. House of Representatives and blacks are assertively making their presence realized in all jurisdictions of the American political arena (Gandy and Coleman, 1984). Nevertheless, there is a serious lack of communication research which analyses and explains political communication processes and effects and their relationships to race of office holders. Communication researchers must devote greater energy and resources to projects that explore press coverage of officials from different racial

backgrounds including blacks, hispanics and other minorities.

Recommendations

The selection of white representatives for this study to a great degree was based on press visibility studies of U.S. Senators (Matthews, 1960; Weaver and Wilhoit, 1980; Wilhoit and Sheril, 1968). It was assumed that press coverage criteria for senators were similar to such criteria for representatives. Data collected in this study suggests that this assumption may be incorrect. Senatorial studies report for example that amount of press coverage is dependent upon size of state (or district), committee assignment and prestige, and office tenure. The representatives in this study had very similar postures on these press coverage criteria, yet the amount of coverage devoted to the black and white groups was significantly different. Race is obviously a differentiating factor here, but this also suggests that press coverage criteria that apply to the Senate may not be appropriate predictors for press coverage in the House of Representatives. Future research of the type conducted in this study should delineate press coverage predictors that apply strictly to representatives.

Headlines are usually the most sensitive index of news bias (Chaudhary, 1980, p. 641). Future studies should continue to investigate the frequency of placement of political actors' names in newspaper headlines. Subsequent studies should focus more on whether or not gatekeepers place names, issues, problems or events in the headlines. I maintain that placement of names in the headlines more often than issues, problems, and events reflects the surveillance function of the press and the gatekeepers' tendency to focus on political actors' personalities, personal style, and idiosyncracies rather than their personal and professional political leadership qualities and abilities.

Subsequent studies should also continue to survey quotations by representatives because an abundance of newspaper space and journalistic importance is attributed to statements by representatives. Miller (1977) argues that this is the critical factor for press coverage of members of Congress. The categories used in this study, however, were probably too broad to be revealing. In the future, such studies should concentrate on critical issues of the time such as budget cuts, the Middle East, and environmental protection. A frequency analysis of black and white representatives' quotations on such issues may be more informative than the analysis used here of counting

the number of quotations about congressional affairs, international affairs, national affairs and so forth.

Finally, it is important that more political communication research be devoted to political actors during periods in which they are not running for office but carrying out the public trust. It is during this time that public officials devote less time and energy to "looking good in the press," and the press takes more initiative in portraying politicians for various readerships. Between elections is also the time when a wide range of issues are broadcasted and many of these issues later become the agenda that voters use to determine how they will cast their ballots. If researchers are to gain a full understanding of the agenda-setting function of the press, they must concentrate on both political campaigns and politicians' terms in office.

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